1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 621 463 778 192 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh* is in far more general use, and is often employed even when the dairyman is an elderly man.

At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies; a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*. Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursuiir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 618 621 778 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.

At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 421 618 621 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7) possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,[1] and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62).

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a diaryman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *piidrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudeipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi.

The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The

[1] See Chapter XXIII.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions. 618

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòdm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property. 421 618 621

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual 177 421 423

[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

4: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
423 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
578 seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan.
618 There probably never arises any real question of ownership, but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

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[1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

428 one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

611 428 851 In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known. Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

421 428 611 671 183 Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of Tüliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and Tüliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tüliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tüliners.

This potential lawsuit is important as showing the *rôle* played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

The history is also very interesting in showing that a century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

which our own British forefathers in Celtic days—before the nation had become English through suffusion of Teutonic blood—used to form, has been read by every school-boy. 'It was common,' writes Cæsar, 'for a number of brothers or other near relations to use their wives promiscuously.'[1] It is not perhaps, quite pleasant to be told that such was the custom of our own ancestors, and efforts have in consequence been made to throw doubt on the correctness of the statement; but that it was indeed the habit of the Celtic portion of the inhabitants, I see no cause for doubting. If, as I believe to be the case, the custom of the ancient Britons, and of the Todas, is in this respect, identical, any light which these pages may bring to bear upon the curious and ancient practice, cannot fail to be accepted with greatly enhanced interest.

Polyandry prevails also amongst tribes now occupying divergent tracts of the Indian Peninsula, but which, speaking various dialects of the same Drâvidian language, which is the mother-tongue of our Todas, were manifestly at one time, close neighbours—viz. in the mountains of Ceylon, and along the Southern Ghats.

It exists at this day amongst the Kalmuks, and has only just died out with the last of the Tasmanians.

It is known to be the practice of 'some families of the Iroquois.'[2]

We shall be better placed, to understand all the conditions of this venerable institution, on perusing the following few simple customs—partaking of the full force of laws—in regard to the management and inheritance of property; such as land, cattle, food and chattels, which obtain amongst the Todas;—

I. It has already been told that the tribe is divided into clans—kôleh.[4]

[1] J. Cæsar, 'De Bello Gallico.'
[2] Lubbock, 'The Origin of Civilization and Primitive Condition of Man.'
[4] Kôleh is a Drâvidian—Kanarese—word, which, though used by the

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXIV.

II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants;[6] the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption;[6] the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kûtu,[7] from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property: but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations; being fed from the common stock.

VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family: and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the

Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have *no word* for clan.

[6] Mr. J. Breeks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

[6] See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

[7] See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kûtu.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

621 234 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 428 592 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue "and learning.*" Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 177 651 461 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 294 262 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *puttah or pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu.*—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{7}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, seed.* The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *K'ōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *K'ōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.) $\frac{1}{A}$ A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Büguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [601]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, *Tenure of land.*
to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned 177
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirdi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

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* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâlthchi*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirdi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [Plate 5A — Analyst]

177 an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badagas and Kota cultivators had
421 always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of
423 *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to*
651 "*molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was uncertain.

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, in proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anne per Kani (cawny). A Cawny = 1·32 acres.

B. Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gūdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gūdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pottds*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gūdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gūdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— *Religious Rites Ceremonies*

I. *Pâldle* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a
234 mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

"No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pâlaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

* * * * *

"Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pâlaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâldls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pâldls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarsezhâl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâldls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilâl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâldl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiviari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâldl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,749, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gūdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.